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The old man says, "So, you won't obey? I'm going to check you off right now." The boy cries louder. 861 865

"Now stop that! Listen to me. Come over to me or I'm going to get you." The child is frightened. He tries to crawl behind his father, his mother, or his grandmother. But they act as if they have given the old man the privilege to do what he wants with the boy, and they push the boy forward. Then the old man grabs him and struggles with him. He puts him in the sack and says, "Are you going to behave?"

After that the boy is prompt and behaves. If he won't get wood, his mother says, "All right, I'll call the old man." Then he goes for the wood at once. After the old man works on him like this two or three times, he comes to be a good boy.

These old men look fierce and funny. The children are afraid of them. The old man is never the grandparent. It is always an outsider. The grandparent is there with the parents to see the child get his lesson. [603]

Cowing children by reference to ill-favored old people is not to be confused with a manner of joking practiced for another purpose: 522 887

An old woman might joke with a little boy, calling him her husband, telling him, "I'll be back tonight and see you," and making all kinds of funny remarks. Here is what is behind it. They say that when an old person jokes like this it will give long life and good luck to a little child. But [for an old person] to joke about this concerning someone of the child's age is not good. It's against the child. [777]

I've been joked at like this. My aunt [a mother's sister; the child's mother had died] used to play this trick on me. She picked out an old woman who was as ugly as anything. She used to say, "I've brought you up and you've got to do what I tell you. You must marry that old woman." The old woman, when she came around, would say, "I missed you last night. Come over to my place and I'll cook for you."

But they never mention relatives when they joke in this way. To do that will give the child bad habits and bad ideas. If you fool like that with a grandmother, you'll get used to being free with relatives. You'll see your own sister over there and have relations with her. You'll turn into a witch. To encourage joking about marriage with relatives is just like teaching your daughter to play cards all the time or to drink whiskey. 522 602 [754]

To return to other disciplinary measures:

For crying children we have some kind of covering. We do not whip the child if we can help it. We put the covering over the child's head and hold it that way until he stops crying. We do this to little children, do it several times until they stop crying. The little children do not like to have anything over their heads. That is one punishment. 865 861

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CHILDHOOD

There are practical jokers, even among the children, who throw clinging or mildly irritating grasses (*Nama hispida* is one) at someone or hide them in his bed.

The children of an encampment organize expeditions to search for certain delicacies which are not plentiful or valuable enough to figure in adult food economy. Ground cherries, the red fruits of the nipple cacti, and willow buds are gathered, and cottonwood buds are chewed like gum. The search for honey provides another diversion:

> When I was a boy, so long ago I can hardly remember it now, there was a certain bee we used to get. When it collected honey the children caught it, split it open, and sucked out the sweet stuff from the body. They didn't eat the whole thing. Only children did this. I never saw grown-ups do it.

When hives are found in the trees, a smudge fire is started under the tree and the bees are smoked out. A cliff hive is dislodged by well-directed shots from slings. For a ground hive another method is employed: "When the hive is in the ground a boy stands over the small hole and lets the bees out one at a time. Others kill each bee as it comes out. When all the bees are killed, they dig out the hole and eat the honey."

To the stock of playthings which the child makes for himself are added toys given him by his parents or other relatives. Little girls are presented with buckskin dolls filled with grass,[9] toy cradles, water jars, and burden baskets. For the boy the obvious plaything is a small bow and some arrows made of ocean spray, mock orange, snowberry, willow, service berry, or *Edwinia americana*. As a blanket for her doll cradle the girl uses a cottontail rabbit skin. A rabbit-skin cap, with the ears left on, is made for the little boy.

The older boys and girls enjoy swimming, a sport which a child begins to master at about the age of eight. A practical purpose is credited to another activity:

[9] These dolls are not supposed to approximate the human form too closely, for anything that has great likeness to a human being but is not animate is suggestive of a corpse. The mothers would not, at first, allow their children to have dolls of European type, claiming that they were "too natural."

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want to. While you are out there, you can take up the mask and smoke cigarettes. It's all right. You are just entertaining the people. You don't have to keep away from women during the four nights of the dancing either. 535 [834]

There is great rivalry for the leadership of the masked-dancer groups: 535 578

I was dancing for T. once. E. was going to lead. I was going to be second in line. While we were being painted, E. said, "Watch me. I'm the leader, and the leader is supposed to be the best dancer." I just laughed.

They finished painting us, and T. said, "All right, go ahead." It was dusk by this time. We were late, for the fellows had been late in getting there. We could see the big fire over at the feast grounds. So E. started off. His mask was down over his face. He must have been blinded by the fire, for before you know it he went off the bank and into an arroyo! You could hear him go down, and then he was down there grunting. I had thought he was going wrong. I had the front of my mask pulled up. I knew how to wear it and could pull it up and still have it stay on.

I just laughed and laughed when he went down. I said, "Hey, leader, I can't follow you there." T. went down and got him. He was skinned and the horns of his headdress were broken. T. said, "You fellows go on and dance," and so we went on.

The next day I saw him standing there holding one arm. The news got around, and the people were laughing and calling, "A masked dancer fell in the arroyo! A masked dancer fell in the arroyo!" [522]

Accomplished dancers, in spite of the strenuous nature of the task, are reluctant to withdraw even when they grow old. "E. still dances. They have to pull his skin smooth to put the paint on. It is the same with H.; they have to stretch his skin. But they don't want to give it up." 535 [887]

If a dancer wishes to become a ceremonialist of this rite, his experience as an impersonator "makes it easier for him to learn." One prominent masked-dancer shaman, describing how readily he had mastered the details of his calling, said: "I learned so fast because I had been a dancer right along." [756]

While the masked dancers just described are being painted, another type of impersonator, the clown ("Gray One," "Long Nose," or "White Painted"), is being prepared also: 535 522 [776]

He wears a mask of scraped rawhide. Sometimes they make it with a big nose or big ears. He wears only moccasins and a gee string. The rest of his body is bare and covered with white paint. They say that it is good to be a clown before you dance as a masked dancer. Then you get used to the dances.

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535 When the masked dancers are out there just for the good time of the people, it
522 isn't necessary to have a clown with each set of dancers. Sometimes the shaman doesn't even paint a clown. He doesn't worry about it. If someone wants to be one, all right; but he doesn't ask anyone to do it. If someone wants to, he says, "All right, get your own equipment then." The clown is not counted in the set.
[755] A man may paint four others and a clown. But when they are dancing to cure sickness, the clown is supposed to be the most important dancer. The old man told me that the clown has more power than any other masked dancer.

The clown won't talk to the people when he's dancing at the time of the puberty rite. He only motions. He's just there to make fun. The people give him directions, and he goes and does what they say and makes a fool of himself just for the fun of it. He will roll on the ground if they tell him to. He dances all over. He may be in the lead or he may come last. He has no special position. It is not dangerous to touch a clown as it is to touch another masked dancer.

535 The clown is the servant and messenger of the masked dancers. You notice
522 that he runs over to the group of men who are singing for the dancers and bends
203 down and says something. He is saying, "The dancers out there [resting in the woods] want to smoke and they need tobacco," or, "They want you to sing a 'high-step' dance song for them."

If you are a masked dancer, you can tell the clown to deliver a message for you. He goes among the people; it's all right for him to do it. People are all saying, "There's the clown. What is he after?" He gets near your man. Then he leans over quickly and delivers your message. And he's gone like a flash.

When I was a dancer, I used the clown. The girl I sent a message to is still living here. Just as we were going out from the fire I motioned to the clown, and he followed me. I told him, "See that girl by the wood pile. Tell her that I want to see her over here when the next dance begins." Pretty soon I saw the clown going toward that wood pile. He talked to my girl.

The next time they danced, I didn't go in. I went to the place where I was going to meet the girl. I had my mask on, and people I met couldn't see who I was. I was waiting there. Pretty soon I saw a girl coming. I jingled my costume to let her know I was there.[6]

535 To continue with the account of the preparation of the masked dancers. The men who are to dance, strip, don the kilts and moc-
[756] casins, and stand or sit facing the east. The shaman puffs a pre-
[782] liminary cigarette to the directions while he recites an extemporaneous prayer such as this:

Under the heavens to the east, inside Big Star Mountain, can be seen the great Black Mountain Spirit. His body has been designed and the uprights of his

[6] It is dangerous to touch, speak to, or point at a masked dancer only when he is dancing or actually impersonating a supernatural.

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ment for this. It is like an issue[14] to the boys that comes automatically. This comes from a certain kind of shaman who has to do with war. The drinking-tube is given by the same person and is issued in the same way. The shaman has prayers to the directions. He throws pollen to the directions as he makes these things. The tube and the scratcher have a lightning design on. When the boy comes back, he returns the hat, scratcher, and tube to the shaman. The shaman can use them again for others.

"One who is a novice is different from the others." The difference is in the first instance a ritual one: "The older men treat the novices reverently because these young men are on one of their first raids and there are restrictions upon them." Like the pubescent girl, the novice is identified with a supernatural. "On the raid and warpath the men call the novice Child of the Water." Sacred aspects are further emphasized by behavior and food restrictions:

The novice, when he first gets the tube and scratcher and goes out with the others, cannot turn around quickly and look behind him. He must glance over his shoulder first. And in facing the other way he has to turn toward the sun first, the way they throw pollen. Bad luck would come to the party if this was not done.

If the boy does not use the scratcher, his skin will be soft; the flesh will be no good. He has to use the tube for all drinking. It is a rule that is put upon the boy. If he does not use the scratcher and tube, his whiskers will grow fast.

There is also a very strict rule against a novice having sexual intercourse while he is out.

Another thing: he must use the words that have been taught him. If he disobeys in this, he will be very unlucky.

Novices are not allowed to eat warm food, but must eat it cold. If they have to cook the food, they must let it get cold before they eat it. If the novice eats warm food, horses will not be worth anything to him. He is not allowed to eat entrails either. If he eats entrails, he will not have good luck with horses. Meat from the head of an animal is forbidden to him also.

To these rules various informants have added others. The novice should not gaze upward when he is on the raid or a heavy rain will come. He is not supposed to laugh at anyone, no matter how amusing the situation. He must speak respectfully to all the men and must not talk freely or obscenely about women. He must stay awake until he is given permission to lie down; to go to

[14] The Chiricahua refer to rations and goods distributed by reservation officials and the military as "issues."

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even forty times to have a baby. There are cases where a baby has come sooner, but they are very rare. I believe this today. It is a general Chiricahua belief. I have seen it work out too many times to doubt it. 842

Acceptance of this idea reduces the fear of the consequences of an isolated sexual experience, but it dooms the unmarried mother to the stigma of having been repeatedly unchaste. The girl who claims that she is with child as the result of but one misstep is simply not believed. [558] [848] [836]

In another account the blood accumulation theory is worked out more precisely:

You have to have intercourse with a girl more than once to get a baby started. If you do it about three times a week, you will have a baby started in about two or three months. But it depends on the man and woman and on how much they do it. I know of a girl who had intercourse with a man many times in one night. If a girl did it at that rate, it wouldn't take any time at all to get a child started. [833]

This theory of conception does not demand that the necessary semen be that of one man:

If a woman has intercourse with more than one man over a period of time, the child that comes will belong to both of them; each man contributes something to its physical makeup. The child will belong mostly to the man who has had most intercourse with the woman. If a woman has intercourse with many men and a child is born, the men say that each one has some small part in the child. Of a child of a loose woman one often hears a man say, "I have an elbow in there," or, "I have a foot in there."

It is believed that many men can be the father of one child. If a woman goes with several men, it is said that the child belongs to all of them. That is why an illegitimate child is so good-looking. He has the good points of all the men. And that is why the word for illegitimate child means "child of many." It can have parts from more than one man. [827] [848] [792]

It is obvious from the last two excerpts that there exists a well-defined concept of heredity, based upon the continuity of the "blood" and its properties. This was made more explicit by a commentator who declared: "Children look like their parents. My oldest daughter looks like my mother, the old men tell me. My youngest daughter looks like her mother." This view is also expressed in joking. Thus, a young man was told by his friends that his big ears strangely resembled those of an illegitimate child whose parentage had not been fully accounted for. 842 827 [522]

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The adjustments which avoidance requires are a constant source of humor: 606 522 602

One day J. and I were in the trader's store. The baker was bringing in a tray of bread and rolls, holding it before him. We did not see him and were in his way. Someone shouted, "You, get out of the way! Do you think this is food being carried to an avoided person?" He said that because it looked as if the baker was coming to wait on us with a tray. Everyone laughed.

The difficulties of avoidance under all conditions give rise to a crop of "mother-in-law jokes" too: 606 522

We have stories and jokes about the mother-in-law. A man will tell how every time he wanted to cross a path or do this or that, his mother-in-law would always come into sight. It sounds funny when told by an Indian in the Indian language.

But, in spite of such levity, the obligation to avoid the designated affinities is solemn. The avoided person is called "the one to whom I do not go," and all kindly disposed individuals are expected to sound the warning, "Do not walk here!" when an individual is about to come into the presence of anyone from whom he "hides." 606 602

Sometimes by accident you meet a person you should avoid, nevertheless. Then you just duck away as fast as possible. When it happens, a man gets angry at himself sometimes. He says, "I should not have gone here." Or he might blame his mother-in-law and say, "She had no business being around here." It is a custom violated, and we do not like it.

The gravest objection is not to the proximity of the avoided relative or to the sound of his voice but to the sight of him:

If I do not hide from my wife's relatives whom I am supposed to avoid, they will call me a witch. If I run into the woman from whom I am supposed to hide and do it right along, she gets angry and calls me a witch. They say you'll get blind if you keep looking at these in-laws. This one tells the other relatives and they may try to chase me away perhaps. But I love my wife and want to stay on. Sometimes the Chiricahua had a little war among themselves about things like this, and someone would get killed. [578]

The average person takes little risk of jeopardizing his sight or of being considered a witch: 606

Often a mother-in-law will not take part in a social dance if she thinks it will expose her to her son-in-law. The same with a feast; both will not stay around at

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FOLK BELIEFS, MEDICAL PRACTICE AND SHAMANISM

FOLK BELIEFS, MUSCULAR TREMORS, AND DREAMS

ALL items of belief are by no means of equal importance. They range in significance from the trivial to those basic for the ceremonies. Many of them are of no great moment and, indeed, may be uttered half in jest.

They say in the way of a joke that you get a rash from giving things and taking them back all the time. You have to put ashes on the rash, which is called "lice sew you up." If you are stingy, the person from whom you take things says, "I wish you'd get warts" [such warts should be cut off with sinew], or, "I wish you'd get the rash."

Sneezing, which indicates that "someone is thinking of you," may also be treated jokingly:

Upon sneezing, they say, "I am still here for you," or, "Sometime we will see each other again, sweetheart." Once two old men and I were together. One sneezed, and he made this remark. The other told him, "Nobody is thinking of you, you old fool! All that means is that you're catching cold."

Yet some regard the sneeze as an ominous sign and pray to the culture hero or exclaim, "May it be well!"

When the ear rings, "someone is talking about you," and young people think the speaker is one of their admirers. Some persons regard a frequent buzzing in the ear as a sign that good news will be heard; others say it is the calling of a dead relative. A burning sensation in the ear is a harbinger of cold weather.

Rings around the sun and moon indicate change of weather, rain, or snow. Rain will come if a horned toad or a snake is killed and turned on its back, if a dog rolls on the ground, if there is a good deal of drumming in the camps or much singing of masked-dancer songs. Smoke from a big fire kindled on a still night will cause clouds to gather. The crescent moon "is draining" when its tip is pointed downward, and rain falls. "A dark, heavy, pouring rain is male; a light rain when the horizon seems bright nevertheless is called female rain."

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756 The last sentences are of particular importance, for they call
778 attention once more to the special peril in which the relatives of
782 a sorcerer are placed:

There is often a big penalty for being a very successful shaman. A shaman might do a lot of good, then the power demands that the life of a relative be sacrificed. If he does not agree, he pays with his own life; a trifling accident will cause his death. He allows the power to take his son, his daughter, his wife, or any other close relative. It causes them to get sick; it appears to be natural when they die. The power causes the sickness, and he permits it. The relatives of such shamans are afraid of them. The relative cannot defend himself. The matter is not made public. The shaman, when his time comes to die, can substitute a relative for himself. I have heard very often of shamans substituting a relative when their own time came to die.

I hear lots of talk about the fact that if a shaman has done a great deal of good, when the time comes for him to die, his power speaks and tells him to substitute a relative in his place. One old man told me that a relative approached him and wanted him to take a ceremony. He said to this relative, "Get out of here with your power! You will probably substitute me, and if you don't I don't want to have to substitute someone else." When you go to a man with much power and question him directly, however, he evades you. He says, "Well, if the power comes from some evil source, a person might do this." He never admits that he does it.

[522] This fear of the power of a relative provides a source of wry humor:

I used to tease my uncle a lot. You know the Chiricahua think that, when a shaman's time has come to die, he pays out one of his relatives instead. He substitutes someone. It has to be a relative. I used to say to my uncle, "When your time comes, don't pick on me; let me die a natural death." That sounds very funny when you say it in our language. When I'd say this, he would just laugh.

756 But the subject is not always treated in such a genial manner.
782 In the following instance traditional uneasiness is aggravated by
778 a quarrel between father and son over the transfer of the older
593 man's ceremony.

Close relatives of shamans become frightened sometimes because they are afraid the power may claim them. There is my father: I don't know what he knows. I'm afraid of him. He might witch me or harm me. The same with E.—I don't want to be around him. I don't want to be in sight of either of them. I don't want to be bothered.

Sometimes the man will let the power have its way. He will sacrifice one of

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755 773 776 By the ceremony of the Mountain Spirits the boys are restored to bodily perfection and are returned to their parents.

773 776 Another story tells of the flight of a man from a large force of traditional enemies. He runs, praying, toward a place known to be a home of the Mountain People. At his appeal, Mountain Spirits swarm from the cliff wall, surround the enemy, and drive them into a cave which then closes upon them. This myth emphasizes the protective role of the Mountain People who guard the tribal territory and defend the people from enemies and disease.

756 796 798 535 688 773 Another tale calls attention to the care which must be exercised during the masked-dancer ceremony and indicates the prominent place of the clown in the ritual. A shaman informs the people that he is going to paint masked dancers at a mountain far from the camps. He advises everyone, except the dancers and those who will assist him in preparing them, to stay on the flats below. Particularly does he warn parents to keep their children away from the place, and he reminds his hearers that they are not to call the names of the dancers when the performance begins. A little girl creeps up to the forbidden site, nevertheless, and mentions the name of an impersonator when the dancing starts. The shaman, immediately aware of what has occurred, tries to intercede for her with the Mountain People and finally conceals her under the fire. Soon Mountain Spirits come and displace their impersonators. On each of the first three nights a [776] Mountain Spirit of a different color vainly leads the search for the miscreant. On the fourth night Long Nose or Gray One, the [522] clown, heads the line and succeeds. For her impiety the girl is slain.

773 776 784 535 Another myth stresses the penalty for disrespect toward the Mountain Spirits and suggests the association between the masked-dancer rite and ceremonial defense against epidemics. Masked dancers are joined by two mysterious strangers who are superlative performers. The people seek to learn their identity. After the dance of the fourth night, riders stationed on swift horses pursue the two strangers. But the fastest mounts are outdistanced, a rock wall opens to receive the runners, and

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755 and he tells me that I must follow certain rules. For instance, for a headache I
756 must not put a knife in a cooking pot.[99] If I violate the rule, the disease will come back on me again. Or he may tell me to have the door of my house to the east. If I don't do this, if I violate this rule, the Mountain People will know whether I have done this or not, and the disease will come back to me.

It is up to the sick man to make gifts, anything he wants to give. After the fourth time the sick man is taken back to his own camp. In cases where the feather drops or the abalone drops, after the shaman leaves the man, he will keep on praying until the man gets well anyway.

[535] A Mountain Spirit shaman can also perform his rite without any dancers. If there is a sudden emergency, if the full ceremony would be too costly for his patient, or if he cannot find enough dancers, he uses only the headdresses which the dancers customarily wear, placing them against the body of his patient and gesticulating with them to the directions to send the sickness away.

731 Many ceremonies cure the sickness of individuals, but the pre-
751 vention of epidemics is a signal function of the masked-dancer
535 rite. "When I hear of disease coming, I paint them and tell them
789 to chase the disease away with the sticks," said a Mountain
796 Spirit shaman. "When sickness is around, the masked dancers and the clown are made on a hill and then come to the people below, making fires on the way down. In this way they keep sickness away."

[522] It is at such times that the clown, who merely acts as messen-
[881] ger and funmaker at the girl's puberty rite, may come into his own:

The old man always told us that the clown was the most powerful of the masked dancers. He said, "People think that the clown is just nothing, that he is just for fun. That is not so. When I make other masked dancers, and they do not set things right or can't find out something, I make that clown and he never fails." Many people who know about these things say that the clown is the most powerful.

At times of danger or epidemic another masked dancer, Black One, is sometimes made:

There are different grades of masked dancers. There is the clown, and he is dangerous. Then there is Black One, and he is supposed to be very dangerous. Black One wears nothing but feathers on top of his mask. He is painted black.

[252] [99] There is a general prohibition against stirring food with a knife.
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wise not to swell the number of the latter by radical departures from established custom.

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In keeping with the principle that ceremonialism should be confined to recognized values, undignified religious excitement is cause for humor rather than for praise.

This is sometimes called "religious excitement" or "religious ecstasy." It is the same as what is called "crazy ceremony." This is when a person goes through violent clapping of the hands involuntarily when in a religious ceremony. . . . . Some people get so excited in a ceremony that they shake all over or hit one hand on the other. I knew such a woman when I was young. Some go "Ah, ah, ah, ah!"—just gasp all the time. I knew one woman, part Chiricahua and part white, who acted like this when the masked dancers performed. The Chiricahua believe that you get this way when you take religion too seriously. Some Chiricahua think this is funny.

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The motives of the shaman may be questioned:

A woman shaman got all this poor woman's possessions. She was treating her for a long time. She kept asking for things. Finally she said that the sick woman would have to come to her camp to be cured. C. said when he heard about it that, if she went, she would never come back. And he was right.

Outright charges of fraud are not uncommon:

That man was never known as a shaman. He just picked up those songs from anywhere and changed them. Now he uses them for ceremonial songs. I was out at Whitetail with my wife. He was sleeping in the next room. His son-in-law was out there. (This was when his daughter was still alive.) I heard him making those songs up. He'd sing it in different ways. He'd sing, "My song makes everything well." Now he uses it for a ceremonial song. After practicing he'd come in where I was. I'd sing those words, and he'd just stare at me. He wanted to make a church song;[37] then he turned it into a ceremonial song. They say that he is crazy now and that his songs don't mean anything. No one knows where he got them or what right he has to them.

[755]

Even when the patient recovers, the shaman may receive but grudging credit from his critics. Of one apparent cure, an informant said, "It is hard to tell why he got well. Maybe the man was ready to get well anyway, or maybe G. cured him."

[37] Songs patterned after old Chiricahua types musically but expressing Christian sentiments have lately been composed for church use.

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224 576 577 431 156 The rules of the hunt require generosity:

The first man who comes up to you when you kill a deer is entitled to the whole deer, no matter who he is. You say to him, "Go ahead, help yourself. Leave what you want for me." He can leave half or take most and leave you a little. You can't say anything. He can take the skin and all. The Chiricahua always feels this way. A poor fellow is out here hunting because he needs meat. If I kill something and he comes over, I share with him. That's the feeling of all the hunters. If you have already butchered a deer and have it on your horse carrying it into camp and meet someone, it is different. Then you give him whatever you want to. It's up to you.

An etiquette of reasonableness and shrewd utility governs these privileges, however. In no case of which I have a record has more than the hide and half the meat been taken. Often the hide alone or the meat only is accepted. A man who is well supplied with meat and skins may even politely decline the gift, for he knows that acceptance constitutes an implicit claim against him when the situation is reversed.

When two men are hunting together, "it's up to the man who makes the kill to give the hide to the other if he wants to." So automatic is this response that a man who kills a deer while he is in the company of another hunter is said "to kill it for" his friend. "When you are out and you kill a deer for another, he skins it."

The ideal of selflessness in obedience to rule is sometimes difficult to maintain, particularly when hunting companions have a common need of buckskin:

[522] I've heard jokes about hunting. This is one funny story. Two men were hunting together. Both were good shots. They saw a deer close by, a big deer. Neither of them could have missed it, it was so close. Each man knew that he wasn't entitled to the hide if he killed the deer. Each said to the other, "You shoot him." Each was making up all kinds of excuses for not shooting. One said to the other, "I've shot many deer for you, so you could get the hides. Now here's a chance for you to kill one for me, and you don't do it!" The other said, "You can kill that deer, and then I'll get the hide." Meanwhile the deer ran away, and neither of them got it. That's the story I've heard. They laugh when they tell this story.

The strength of the obligation of generosity can be inferred from this account, in which a man, despite his selfishness, is offered a share by the successful hunter:

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574 576 near the door most often because it is the most convenient and unoccupied place. If there is a bed along one side of the home, a visitor doesn't sit there unless he is called and told to.

When you have a visitor, you have to be very careful of how you act. In passing in and out of the house, a person must not touch or press against another person, especially against visitors and strangers. The visitor, in turn, must not let the one who is passing touch him or press against him. To leave your home when you have company is considered very impolite. If you have to leave, you say, "I am going to walk there by you."

574 576 Great politeness is exercised in personal matters between visitors and host:

514 Suppose there are a number of people in my home. We are all interested in some conversation. I'm telling stories or something like that. Perhaps one of the visitors wants to go out and relieve himself. He has to excuse himself. They will know where he is going if he just walks off. So he says, "I have to go out and tend to that horse," or, "I've got my horse hobbled at the foot of the hill over there and I want to chase him toward the water. He hasn't had water all day." Sometimes he hasn't even got a horse there. And another fellow sitting there says, "I have to see about my horse too." And he goes off. Or a person will say, "Well, I have to tend to something!" just as if he suddenly remembered something.

The women make excuses too. They say, "Where have my little ones gone? I'll have to see where they are." That's the way I was taught when I was a child, to make some good excuse.

When two men know each other well, though, if the wife and children are not at home, one will just say to the other, "I am going out."

201 576 When visitors are speaking—and, indeed, when any serious discussion is taking place—it is a mark of good manners to indicate attention and interest by murmurs of approval and interjections of encouragement:

If someone is talking in a social gathering or telling a story, to show that you are interested and are a very polished person, you keep saying, "*he, he,*" at intervals. Or you might say "*do'a,*" which is just like saying, "Indeed!" or "Yes, yes, go on!" Women say it slower, "*doya,*" and in a higher-pitched voice. You hear the old people use it all the time.

During a speech by someone, to show that you approve, you nod your head and break in on him, as whites would with applause, saying, "*ao, ao*" [the affirmative expletive] or "Um, um."

HUMOR

522 201 When friends are together, teasing and bantering take place. Misleading or exaggerated statements are followed by a wink "to

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show that the person is joking," or a gesture may take the place of a wink:

> The equivalent of a wink is to raise the right hand, palm forward, with first and second fingers up and the thumb over the fourth finger. You say something to a man which you mean only as a joke, like, "Your wife's coming." As he looks, you raise your hand in this way and motion with it toward him for the benefit of others, but, when he looks, you stop.

There are other ways to save face and turn the laugh on a companion:

> One way to cover up embarrassment is to stick out the tongue. If you ask a man for something that you don't expect to get, you stick the tongue out when others are looking, but when he doesn't see you. Then, if he turns you down, you don't feel badly about it, for you have shown to the others that you are just fooling anyway and expect to be refused.

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Much of the humor is broad and falls under the caption of practical joking. Putting plants that are irritating to the skin in the bedding of an unsuspecting individual is of this nature. Of one man, it was told: "H. is a great practical joker. You have to watch out for him. He might throw a box in your path. His father was like that, too, always playing practical jokes. You never knew what he was going to do."

But most of the humor is verbal. A man who is considered to be especially good company is described in these words by one of his admirers:

> He's about sixty years old. He's very funny. When he gets in a crowd, he always keeps everyone laughing. He just takes the topic of the day or whatever someone is talking about and sees the funny side of it. At the same time he is talking sense. If you think about it, you can get something out of it too.

Imitations, especially of peculiar or foreign characters, are much appreciated. One informant, himself adept at this art, stated:

> Some are very good at this. Some can imitate C. [an eccentric character], but I can't. His voice is too high-pitched for me. In Oklahoma I used to imitate a butler, just like I saw in the movies. I would make believe that I was waiting on my father when he wasn't looking, and, when he looked again, I would stop. He didn't know what my sister was laughing about.

Even the pun is not unknown. The term for "leader" is very similar to the word that means "to shake the head." A braggart

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522 who was telling a group about his ability as a leader was interrupted by a hearer who, deliberately pretending to have misunderstood, remarked, "Yes, we all know you can shake your head pretty hard!"

Another story that points to the quality of the humor is an account of nonchalance under trying circumstances. An old man on horseback was attempting to pass a knot of his friends with some show of dignity. Just then his horse bucked, threw him, and ran ahead. Instead of waiting for the mirth of the beholders, the man pulled out his tweezers the moment he hit the ground and with great unconcern began plucking his whiskers.

PARTIES, DANCES, AND STORY-TELLING

273 574 The preparation of tiswin is almost always followed by a party to which friends and neighbors of both sexes are invited, for the beer is made in relatively large quantities and sours if it is not used at once.

My first tiswin party came when I was about fourteen years old. It was during the summer. A woman who was noted for the good tiswin she made told me to tell my grandmother to come over that afternoon, for she had some tiswin. She invited me too. I went right over to my grandmother and told her. I went with her and attended that party. It was just a social occasion. I drank a lot and got to feeling good. I was not used to it, but I didn't get sick. It lasted about two hours.

[576] They sit around and tell stories at these parties, laughing and talking. A man with a bad temper could not get in. It is considered very impolite to come in to a party without an invitation, but some get around this. They hate to miss it and find some excuse for coming there. One cup is kept going. The woman who gives the party does the dishing-out. A boy of about fourteen can attend. Usually a girl has to be a little older. After this I attended tiswin parties whenever I could.

273 574 533 535 Social dancing and singing sometimes add to the pleasures of a tiswin party. Even the women, when a certain point of gaiety is reached, may elect to act as singers, though this is not their customary role:

One time Mrs. S. and C.'s wife sang social dance songs. The men were all played out. One got the drum and the other helped her. In the old days the Chiricahua woman sometimes sang songs and used the drum too. They used to do it for the round dance. They would get around in a bunch and sing and drum.

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538 A really talented raconteur has at his command a seemingly inexhaustible fund of stories. Of the host of the occasion mentioned above it was said with admiration: "N. began at sundown. He told Coyote stories all night. He never finished them that night." For those who stay up all night to listen to him, the 538 n. rrator is expected to have some gift. By keeping the audience 431 up until dawn, he has "stolen the night" from them and owes them amends:

The old-time Indians used to give you a big present if you stayed up all night and listened to them tell stories. They used to kill a cow or even give a horse or saddle. I went over to C.'s place with my wife. We got tired and wanted to come home about ten o'clock. C. said, "Why don't you stay all night and win something? We'll give you a big pan of piñon nuts." But we were too tired and came home.

If the host does not have suitable presents on hand, he may feel uneasy about keeping his audience too long:

A while back we were over at T.'s camp and the old man was telling stories. We were willing to stay all night. But the old man stopped before the night was over and said, "I haven't got much here, and so I don't want to go too far. I'll give you what I have." He brought out some things. I took a pocketful of piñons and some tobacco and went home.

538 It is the story-teller's use of appropriate gestures, onomato-
522 poeia, and asides—in short, his gifts as actor and dramatist,
[554] which lend luster to his reputation. In order to keep interest at a high pitch, he does not hesitate to tease the less attentive members of his audience:

Once the old man was telling the whole bunch of us Coyote stories. It was just the time when E. was having some trouble with his wife and his mother-in-law. The old man thought he would have some fun with E. He made believe he wasn't looking at E., but he was watching him out of the corner of his eye. When he came to a part where Coyote has some trouble with his wife or mother-in-law, if E. wasn't looking he'd motion toward him and say, "I guess it's this fellow." Everyone would laugh, and E. would look up. But by this time the old man would be looking the other way and going on with his story as though nothing had happened.

At first E. laughed too. He didn't know it was for him. But after a while he got suspicious. He kept his eyes on the old man. Then he'd get tired or look around, and just that quick the old man would do it again. E. was always just too late to catch him at it.

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Then they came to the story where Coyote tells his mother-in-law to put her arm in the log after the rabbit because her arm is longer. Right there E. caught him. He jumped up. He cursed and said, "You just talk about me all the time!"

The old man laughed. "What's the matter? Why do you get mad? Was it you? Are you that Coyote?"

E. was so mad he walked out. The old man called after him, "You must have been that Coyote."

It was surely funny to watch E. try to catch the old man at it. The old man sat there whittling. Just as soon as E. looked away, he'd motion with two fingers and say, "I guess it's this one," and when E. would look up, there the old man would be, whittling away as before.

SMOKING

Smoking adds to the pleasure and relaxation when old tales are recounted. Before the distribution of trader's supplies, tobacco was very scarce. Consequently, it was used mostly for ceremonial purposes and was looked upon as a great luxury on social occasions. Boys were counseled not to smoke until after the training period, and it was thought unbecoming for women under middle age to use tobacco, except as ritual might demand it. The source and use of the wild tobacco are described as follows:

Before the white man's tobacco came in, the Chiricahua found their tobacco out in the woods or out in the Arizona plains. It grows in reddish soil. It is a low plant, and you cannot find a great deal of it together. The plants have white and yellow flowers and long narrow leaves, about four inches wide or less. It doesn't grow everywhere but just in certain places, and it is therefore hard to get. We pick it and let it dry out in the sun. Some sprinkle mescal juice on it and then let it dry. This wild tobacco is milder than the present tobacco we get. Often this tobacco is used with other plants. Sumac leaves are picked, dried, crushed, and put with it, and sage is too.

The tobacco we found was called "big tobacco." It was used for social purposes as well as for ceremony. It was passed around at private gatherings or at story-telling. But it was not so common. You just saw it here and there, because it was so scarce. Boys were not allowed to smoke, and just old women were allowed to smoke. When we fought Mexicans we took their tobacco. When the white man's tobacco first came in, it was pretty scarce. If you had a good horse, you would give it for one cigarette of the white or Mexican kind.

In the old way, when the tobacco is ready, they crumble it up. They use the leaf of the oak for a cigarette paper. They take the fresh leaf in summer, but sometimes they carry them in a bundle, one on top of the other. Every now and then they wet the leaves to keep them in shape. And they get cornhusks that they use. Many times I've seen old men sitting on the sunny side of the camps